



A N E N T

THE

NORTH AMERICAN  
CONTINENT.

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"What is that hath been ? the same thing shall be . . . ."

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## ANENT THE NORTH AMERICAN CONTINENT.

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THREE years ago a great Republic flourished across the Atlantic, whose citizens flattered themselves that the nineteenth century would witness the amalgamation under one government of the divers races inhabiting their continent—from the icy regions to the Isthmus of Panama.

Three months later a provincial disturbance in the harbour of Charleston dispelled their dreams of empire; yet they might as well have believed that their descendants would govern the tidal flow of the ocean, as that their hemisphere would not be subjected to Nature's laws.

History teaches that both Roman and Carlovian empires were dismembered in consequence of the inability of their central governments to exercise a beneficial sway over increasing populations, enlightened by civilisation, and determined to localize the supreme direction of their affairs.

Before many years have elapsed the North American Continent will be occupied by a group of Commonwealths, every one possessing its autonomy, and capable of defending its territory against home or foreign aggressors.

It would be a patriotic policy on the part of native Americans, Canadians, and Mexicans, to facilitate the formation, in Geographical Divisions, of as many States as the interests of their citizens might require; and, whilst reserving to each its complete independence in regard to political economy, to form one confederation, with uniform currency, common customs union, postal, telegraphic, steam-boat and railroad communication, banking and commercial privileges.

The right to hold property, and to be naturalized in the various Divisions, should be secured to natives desirous of changing their domiciles.

There is still time for such friendly arrangements between the two sections of the late United States, but the eleventh hour has struck; and, were the present Americans wise in their generation, they would avail themselves of the opportunity, and not run the risk of seeing their Continent divided into as many hostile republics, as is that of South America.

The leading maritime Powers of Europe ought to remove whatever obstacles the Americans find insuperable towards the attainment of these objects; and, to begin with, they should take an active part in settling the questions at issue between the American belligerents, a speedy solution to which can alone prevent the annihilation, for thirty years to come, of their respective sources of prosperity, a

result as detrimental to the interests of the Old World as to those of the New.

In the United States no one has the courage to proclaim openly that the Union can never be restored--that North and South should separate into two divisions, and that a third subdivision, if required, should be allowed to take place for the sake of restoring peace.

In the Confederate States, the Government, instead of using all the energies of the people to defend its natural frontiers, and to reconquer those portions of its territory invaded by the Northern army, is struggling to maintain a nominal suzerainty over the country to the west of the Mississippi, which, for extent and sparseness of population, may be most aptly compared with 500,000 square miles of Australian plains, where the traveller falls in with one or two shepherd farms on a forenoon ride.

The truth is that the Northern and Southern governments are both striving to attain an imperial future for their respective sections; the former for a country peopled by freemen and black serfs, the latter for one inhabited by white men and Negro slaves. The lot of the unfortunate Blacks is indeed deserving of commiseration; for, under either system, they are to be employed as "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to their pale-faced countrymen, *in saecula saeculorum.*

When we emancipated our West Indian Negroes the masters were few, the slaves were many, the

islands small, the fleets and soldiery of England were at hand, if required, to protect the black people in their newly-acquired rights, and the result was a disastrous failure to the moral and social interests of all concerned. None of those conditions exist in respect to slavery on the North American continent. From Chesapeake Bay, in a direct line to the confluence of the Rio Puercos with the Rio Grande, from the south-eastward of that line to the shores of the Mexican Gulf and the Atlantic Ocean, the soil is principally adapted for the labour of the African race alone, while within these limits is contained an area sufficiently large to employ in its cultivation fifty millions of that class. As the white and coloured American races have heretofore increased in relative proportions, we may assume that they will do so in future, and that senseless abolition howls, from whichever side of the ocean they proceed, will not improve the lot of our swarthy fellow creatures, but rather make their latter condition worse than their first.

At Richmond and Washington, in Tennessee and Virginia, the civil and military authorities are too seriously occupied to have leisure or inclination for projecting any plan for the extrication of their deluded countrymen out of the slough of ruin and misery into which the manœuvres of unscrupulous politicians have plunged them, and in which the interests of speculators, stockjobbers, army contractors, blockade-runners, and unprincipled adven-

turers, the sweepings of every clime, require that they should remain. Nor is it to be expected that any influential body of men, in either the Federal or Confederate States, will dare to advocate the cause of peaceful separation, and thus incur the vengeance of despotic Governments, who employ their armed legions to crush political and military opponents indiscriminately.

Besides the moral, there is a material aspect of the American question.

A venerable ex-President of the United States, at the time of a naval expedition to the Eastern seas, laid down the doctrine that the Americans were morally justified in forcing the barbarian nations to open their ports, for the purpose of supplying civilised nations with such commodities as the former possessed in superabundance, and the latter stood in need of. How, therefore, can the Northern prevent the Southern section of the late United States from supplying the nations of the world with cotton ?

Moreover, the greatest consumers of cotton goods are the middling, but especially the lower, classes in every country ; the bulk of cotton cloth made is of the inferior descriptions, and the cotton required for this is of the lower qualities. The principal customers can only buy largely when cloth is to be had cheap ; consequently, the consumption has been greatly affected by the rise in prices which scarcity of the raw material has produced during the last two years.

Ten million hundred weights of raw cotton is re-

quired to keep the mills in Great Britain working full time. One and a quarter pounds of Upland or Surat cotton is required to produce one pound of cotton yarn. The cost of manufacture amounts to from three to fourpence per pound for every pound of yarn. In consequence of the fluctuations in the prices of raw cotton, the difference between the cost and the price at which the yarn sells constitutes the only profit which the spinner can depend on. The profit of the power-loom weaver depends on the price he has to pay for the yarn, but generally the wealthy spinner, weaver, and printer, when combined under one association, procure a sale for their manufacture, at one time in the form of yarn, at another in that of cloths, whether unbleached, bleached, or printed ; and the profits made on the cloths are often not larger than would have been made by the sale of the yarns.

Fifty thousand bales, or two hundred thousand hundred weights of raw cotton, will every week be required to keep the mills working full time, on account of new mills and additions made to those previously existing since the cotton famine commenced ; and the following tables will convince the most sceptical of the improbability of a return of prosperity to Lancashire until there is enough of American cotton to supply not only ourselves but the world at large ; considering that, besides the quantity required for our own consumption, there ought to be *two to three million cwts.* always in stock at Liverpool.

## TABLE A.

Total Imports of Cotton into Great Britain during the following years approximately, in cwts.

	1861.	1862.	1863.
From United States . . .	7,300,000	100,000	100,000
„ India . . . . .	3,300,000	3,500,000	3,900,000
„ Other quarters . . .	600,000	1,100,000	2,000,000
Cwts. . . .	11,200,000	4,700,000	6,000,000

## TABLE B.

Prices of Cotton, Yarn, and Cloth, during the following years, in Liverpool and Manchester.

	1861.	1864.	
Cotton, raw, mid. Upland	7d.	26d.	
„ „ fair Surat .	5d.	22d.	
40 Mule yarn	{		
30 Water twist	{	12d.      28d.	{ per pound.
Printer, Cotton cloth,	6s. sterling	12s. sterling, per piece of	
		29 yards, weighing 4 pounds.	

With these figures under our eyes, we cannot unreservedly accept the assurance that the mills will have sufficient cotton for four days and a half per week during the present, and for six days per week throughout next year.

Great Britain cannot be rendered independent of America for cotton for ten years to come; and, even if India should replace America in this respect, it is not in our power to prevent the collapse which will take place there, and in other quarters, so soon as

the American war is ended, as cotton will be grown to as great an extent in the Southern Confederacy hereafter as heretofore.

The States of Alabama and of Mississippi, in 1860, produced together as much cotton as the whole amount of American cotton imported into Great Britain, on an average, during each of the three previous years. These States, which possess millions of acres of virgin soil, if peopled with a sufficient number of Negroes, either working as slaves or on General Banks' new system, would produce as much cotton as the whole world can use; and this alone will give some idea of the supplies that may again be forthcoming from the American Continent.

But the protraction of this war does not benefit any kind of honest industry on either side of the Atlantic. The shipbuilding interest is exposed to disagreeable uncertainties, to which the cases pending before the Law Courts sufficiently testify; and no trade is favourably affected, except the manufacture of cannon, firearms, shot, shell, and other munitions of war; and it is lamentable that colossal fortunes should be made, in a Christian land, by furnishing weapons to enable thirty millions of our race to destroy one another amidst the horrors of civil war.

Under these deplorable circumstances, it is well to remember that there does not, and cannot, exist on the American Continent any moral force adequate to arrest the march of events. Even supposing that the Northern and Southern governments desired to

terminate hostilities, upon whose behalf could the former acknowledge the latter, or what authority would the latter possess to accept terms at the hands of the former? The people can grant the requisite authority, but the respective Governments are powerless to lead them, even were they inclined to make the essay. To reason with them in their present choleric condition would be as profitless as to harangue the inmates of Bedlam; whilst as for waiting until they are likely to become reasonable hearers, the time would be as profitably spent watching for the waters to ascend, instead of descending, the Falls of Niagara.

The sole means for restoring peace to the American people consists in the *simultaneous* "Recognition of the Government at Richmond, as representing the Southern Confederacy," by France, Great Britain, Spain, Portugal, and Mexico. The sooner this step is taken, the sooner the war will be terminated; and until it be taken the war will not be ended.

In conclusion, the principal objections hitherto advanced against Recognition may be, without difficulty, successfully answered.

1. From all quarters we hear that public opinion demands the maintenance of the strictest neutrality. But this policy has displeased both belligerents, and may, at times, be justly regarded by each as one-sided. After all, what is "public opinion" but a convenient term for "public feeling," obeying an im-

pulse generally derived from a party view of a popular question, guided by the ministry of the day?

2. Although foreign nations ought not to assist either belligerent with material force, yet they are bound to accept the conclusions arrived at by such States in the Southern Confederacy as have *bona fide* totally emancipated themselves from, and repudiate the sway of, the Government at Washington. Has any eminent American or European statesman or lawyer satisfactorily disproved the right of secession, claimed by certain States which were formerly members of the Federal Union? Will any one deny the right of the greater or of the minor German Powers to decline remaining members of the German Confederation? And will any one undertake to prove that the States of Alabama or Pennsylvania, of Massachusetts or South Carolina, are not as truly sovereign, independent States as Hanover or Hesse Cassel?

3. The simple act of Recognition by the two great Maritime Powers of Europe, even if they acted without the others, would bring to the surface, both in North and South, the giant peace parties, who would force their respective Governments to conclude an armistice, to appoint delegates, and to nominate commissioners for settling the terms of separation, whereby ample territory could be secured, both to the United States and to the Southern Confederacy.

4. No one can now affect ignorance as to what

States form, and what constitutes the frontiers of, the Southern Confederacy; but if any person desires such information, let him study the *bulletin* of the French *Moniteur*, or the leading articles of the London morning and evening daily press.

5. Is it probable that the Northern States would, at the same time, carry on a war against Great Britain, France and the Southern Confederacy? And is it not nearly certain that, peace being once re-established among them, the Americans, like the Europeans after 1815, will have had enough of war for one generation at least? But supposing that they did declare war, how long would Philadelphia, New York, and Boston bear being blockaded? How many American vessels would run through an auxiliary blockading squadron, plying between Halifax, Bermuda, and the Bahamas? How many American privateers would be found in the Eastern Seas, or in the Pacific Ocean, if Great Britain and France declared that their officers would, if captured, be liable to transportation for life, and their crews to hard labour, seeing that privateering, buccaneering and piracy are equally opposed to the spirit of modern civilisation? If Great Britain has £120,000,000 sterling at all times afloat on the waters, there is at least the half of this sum invested in cotton machinery, and an equal amount when profitably employed in the manufacturing trade can give employment to half a million operatives. Surely the enabling our cotton operatives to earn fair and remunerative

wages is as important as doing so for the crews of the vessels carrying the aforesaid merchandise ; and the vested interests of the millowners have as legitimate a claim to protection as those of the owners of either ships or cargoes.

6. Should the Northern States desire to annex Canada, it will enable the Canadians, with our assistance, to regulate their south-eastern frontier at the expense of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, besides securing for them, what they have been too long deprived of, the harbour and town of Portland. Moreover, one of the primary effects of a blockade would be to cause the Great Western Lake States to detach themselves from the United States, and either declare themselves Secessionists or crave for permission to form part of Canada. Should the Canadians, however, decline to assist in their own defence, why should they be prevented establishing themselves under whatever form of government they may prefer ?

7. There is only one sensible scheme for abolishing slavery on the North American continent, and that is to satisfy the slave proprietors that it is their best interest to prepare the Negro race to support a well digested system of gradual emancipation ; and, combined with this, to circumscribe the limits of the territory on which slavery exists. This can best be done by enabling the Southern Confederacy to take its place as an independent nation amongst the powers of the world. What has made slavery

flourish in the Southern States hitherto has been the aid and protection afforded it by the cupidity of the Northern States. What will most speedily ensure its extinction, are the conflicting interests of the slave owners and of their non-slave owning fellow citizens, together with the influence exercised upon the Confederacy by surrounding nations, which are hostile to, and do not tolerate, this peculiar institution.

Finally, when a mansion is on fire, all friendly neighbours aid in extinguishing the flames. England has some obligations unfulfilled to the descendants of her earliest colonists, and to those of the African race whom she transplanted to their soil; and there is no plan other than Recognition by which our American kinsfolk can be extricated from their mournful condition, and their fair broad land become again "a joy of many generations."

THE END.

PAMPHLETS  
ON  
THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

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REFUTATION OF FALLACIOUS ARGUMENTS ANENT THE AMERICAN QUESTION.

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